

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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O R 071235Z JAN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9245  
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AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
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AMEMBASSY VALLETTA  
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AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY MADRID  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 00262  
EXDIS  
DEPARTMENT PASS S/CL

E. O. 1L652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: EEC, PFOR, UK  
SUBJECT: AGENDA FOR JANUARY 25-26 EC POLITICAL  
DIRECTORS MEETING  
REF: A. LONDON 17551 (NOTAL); B. LONDON 20246 (NOTA  
C. LONDON 20488 (NOTAL); D. EC BRUSSELS  
12478 (NOTAL); E. THE HAGUE 0001 (NOTAL);  
F. STATE 305919 (NOTAL)

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SUMMARY: JOHN WESTON, HEAD OF THE FCO'S PRESIDENCY  
SECRETARIAT, ASKED US TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE JANUARY 6  
AND GAVE US THE AGENDA FOR THE FIRST POLITICAL DIRECTOR  
DISCUSSIONS OF THE UK PRESIDENCY. THE TALKS WILL BE  
BASED ON REPORTS BY EC WORKING GROUPS ON CSCE, THE  
MEDITERRANEAN, AFRICA, EASTERN EUROPE, THE MIDDLE EAST,

EURO-ARAB DIALOGUE AND THE UN. WE APPRECIATE THAT SECRETARY VANCE AND HIS ASSOCIATES WILL FIND THESE JANUARY MEETINGS OF EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND MINISTERS SOMEWHAT EARLY TO LAY OUT THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS. THEREFORE, WE WONDER IF WASHINGTON MIGHT PASS THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY ON THESE OCCASIONS OUR ANALYSIS OF THE PRESENT SITUATION IN CYPRUS, THE MIDDLE EAST, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA; I.E., THE U. S. VIEW OF THE NEGOTIATING ENVIRONMENTS IN WHICH CARTER FOREIGN POLICY WILL PROCEED IN 1977. IN ANY EVENT, HMG HAS ASKED US TO PROVIDE US COMMENTS ON THE COMMUNITY AGENDA NO LATER THAN FOUR DAYS BEFORE THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS' MEETING. BY OUR CALENDAR THAT MAKES THE DEADLINE HERE ABOUT JANUARY 20. END SUMMARY.

1. ON JANUARY 4, THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY PROPOSED THE FOLLOWING AGENDA TO ITS PARTNERS FOR THE JANUARY 25-26 POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING. IT FOLLOWS CLOSELY THE PROJECTED AGENDA WE WERE GIVEN IN DECEMBER 17 MEETING, REFTEL C:

A. PRESIDENCY REPORT ON THE CSCE WORKING GROUP MEETING JANUARY 6. POLITICAL DIRECTORS, FOLLOWING DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY REG HIBBERT'S SUGGESTION, WILL REPORT TO THE MINISTERS ON THE STATE OF PLAY CONCERNING PREPARATIONS FOR BELGRADE. THE INITIAL DRAFT OF THE PAPER, AS DONE BY THE DUTCH, DISCUSSED BY THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS IN DECEMBER, AND RECENTLY REVISED BY THE UK IN LIGHT OF THEIR COMMENTS. THE PAPER BEGINS CONFIDENTIAL

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WITH A SUMMARY OF THE WORK ALREADY COMPLETED IN PREPARATION FOR BELGRADE AND ASKS WHICH METHOD OF EVALUATING IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BEST SUIT THE INTERESTS OF THE

NINE. IT MAKES THE POINT THAT BECAUSE THE NINE STARTED FROM A HIGHER THRESHOLD OF IMPLEMENTATION THAN THE EAST, THE WARSAW PACT MAY WELL ARGUE THAT THEY HAVE DONE MORE. IN ANY EVENT, THE APPROACH THE NINE TAKE AT BELGRADE WILL CLEARLY BE INFLUENCED BY OTHER DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST/WEST RELATIONS, ESPECIALLY THE US-SOVIET RELATIONSHIP. THUS, IT WILL BE IMPORTANT TO COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH THE US, THE ALLIES AND THE NEUTRALS.

THE PAPER STATES THAT THE PREPARATORY MEETING WILL BEGIN ON JUNE 15 AND SHOULD BE LIMITED TO FOUR-SIX WEEKS. THE MAIN GATHERING WILL START IN SEPTEMBER OR OCTOBER AND SHOULD CONCERN ITSELF WITH AN EVALUATION OF IMPLEMENTATION, POSSIBLE NEW PROPOSALS AND THE QUESTION OF OTHER MEETINGS. THE NINE WISH TO AVOID

A POLEMICAL APPROACH TO BELGRADE AND HAVE AS THEIR  
PRINCIPAL OBJECTIVE PRESERVATION OF THE UNITY AND  
BALANCE OF THE FINAL ACT. WITH REGARD TO REPRESENTA-  
TION, SOME OF THE EC DELEGATIONS MAY WISH TO BE LED  
AT THE BEGINNING AND END OF THE MAIN MEETING BY

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MINISTERS.

THE STUDY THEN DISCUSSES THE LIKELY EASTERN

APPROACH TO BELGRADE. THE SOVIETS WILL WANT A LOW-KEY

MEETING AND WILL TRY TO AVOID BEING PUT IN THE COMPLAIN

BOX. THEY WILL ARGUE THEIR IMPLEMENTATION IS AS GOOD AS THAT IN THE WEST, ADOPT A STATISTICAL APPROACH TO IMPLEMENTATION AND PROBABLY PUT FORWARD SEVERAL "SPURIOUS" NEW PROPOSALS SUCH AS BREZHNEV'S INITIATIVES  
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ON TRANSPORTATION, ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT, AND POSSIBLY PROPOSALS ON DISARMAMENT.  
IN THE EXPERTS' VIEW, THE NEUTRALS SHOULD BE OF ASSISTANCE TO THE WEST BECAUSE THEY FUNDAMENTALLY SHARE WESTERN INTERESTS. THEY WILL CERTAINLY FAVOR A THOROUGH REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION OF BASKETS II AND III. THE PAPER CONCLUDES BY SUGGESTING THAT THE PRINCIPAL QUESTIONS STILL TO BE DECIDED BY THE NINE REGARDING BELGRADE ARE THE BEST METHOD TO INSURE A PRODUCTIVE REVIEW OF IMPLEMENTATION; WHAT NEW PROPOSALS, IF ANY, THE NINE SHOULD PUT FORWARD; AND THE ROLE OF THE EC COMMISSION IN THE BELGRADE MEETINGS. ALSO, THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS WILL BRIEFLY REVIEW A DRAFT STATEMENT ON THE NINE'S GENERAL APPROACH TO BELGRADE WHICH WILL BE DELIVERED BY FOREIGN SECRETARY CROSLAND AT A JANUARY 27 COUNCIL OF EUROPE MEETING. CROSLAND'S PRESENTATION WILL BE BASED ON THE WORKING PAPER DESCRIBED ABOVE.  
B. PRESIDENCY REPORT ON THE MEDITERRANEAN WORKING GROUP MEETING JANUARY 19. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS WILL WISH TO REASSURE THEMSELVES THAT THE NINE AGREE ON HOW TO TREAT THE ISSUES OF CYPRUS AND TURKEY IN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE. THE DUTCH WILL REPORT ON FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL'S RECENT CONTACTS WITH WALDHEIM ON CYPRUS AND ESPECIALLY ON WALDHEIM'S VIEWS OF THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EARLY RECONVENING OF THE COMMUNAL TALKS. REG HIBBERT MAY GIVE A SITUATION REPORT ON CYPRUS. ALL OF THIS DISCUSSION WILL HOWEVER OCCUR SIMPLY BY WAY OF MARKING TIME UNTIL THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION DECIDES THE DIRECTION OF ITS POLICY TOWARDS CYPRUS.  
FURTHER, THE FRENCH AND ITALIANS MAY REPORT ON THEIR CONTACTS WITH THE MALTESE.  
C. PRESIDENCY REPORT ON THE AFRICA WORKING GROUP MEETING JANUARY 10. THE BRITISH WILL SEEK ENDORSEMENT BY THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS OF THE NEW STUDY THE FCO  
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HAS DONE ON SOUTHERN AFRICA THAT WILL BE LAUNCHED AT THE JANUARY 10 EXPERTS MEETING. THE PAPER'S PURPOSE

IS TO EDUCATE THE NINE AND TO REDUCE THE ABERRANT VOTING AT THE UN ON AFRICAN QUESTIONS BY SOME EC MEMBERS. IN ADDITION, HIBBERT WILL BRING THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS UP TO DATE ON RHODESIAN DEVELOPMENT THE ZIMBABWE FUND MAY BE DISCUSSED ALTHOUGH THE FRENCH HAVE IMPLIED THEY WILL OBJECT, ARGUING THAT IF AID TO BRITISH AFRICA IS CONSIDERED BY THE NINE, AID TO FRENCH AFRICA SHOULD BE ADDRESSED AS WELL.

D. PRESIDENCY REPORT ON EASTERN EUROPE WORKING GROUP MEETING JANUARY 17-18. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS WILL CONSIDER THREE PAPERS: THE SOVIET UNION AND WORLD ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, A BRITISH EFFORT WHICH ASSESSES CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN POLAND, AND AN FRG STUDY ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BUCHAREST DECLARATION OF THE WARSAW PACT.

E. PRESIDENCY REPORT ON THE MIDDLE EAST WORKING GROUP MEETING JANUARY 24. THIS ITEM IS ON THE AGENDA ON A CONTINGENCY BASIS. THERE IS SOME SENTIMENT IN THE NINE THAT A GENERAL EXCHANGE ON THE MIDDLE EAST WOULD BE USEFUL. IT WOULD INCLUDE DISCUSSION ON THE ELECTIONS IN ISRAEL, THE SITUATION IN LEBANON, AND THE GENERAL MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATING ENVIRONMENT. STEAM HAS BEEN ADDED TO THESE DISCUSSIONS BY GENSCHER'S ANNOUNCED VISIT TO SYRIA, JORDAN AND ISRAEL AND FAHMY'S TRIP TO BONN.

F. FOLLOW UP TO THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL DECLARATION ON TERRORISM.

G. UNITED NATIONS' REPORT FROM MISSIONS OF THE NINE AT NEW YORK, EXPERTS MEETING JANUARY 26. INCREASED EC COHESION AT THE UN IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS AGENDA ITEM.

H. EURO/ARAB DIALOGUE (POSSIBLY). THIS WILL DEPEND ON HOW THE JANUARY 8-9 MEETING BETWEEN THE ARAB LEAGUE AND THE EC COMMISSION IN CAIRO TURNS OUT. CONFIDENTIAL

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THE FRENCH CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR A SEPARATE MECHANISM TO CONDUCT POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS IN THE DIALOGUE. THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS MAY ALSO CONSIDER THE DRAFT OPENING STATEMENT THE COMMUNITY WILL MAKE AT THE EURO/

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ARAB GENERAL COMMISSION MEETING ON FEBRUARY 12, IF THAT  
STATEMENT IS READY.

2. COMMENT: WE SENSE FROM THE ABOVE AGENDA AND THE  
PROJECTED BOUNDARIES OF THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS  
DISCUSSIONS JANUARY 25-26 THAT THE NINE, LIKE THE  
REST OF THE WORLD, AWAITS WITHOUT MUCH MOVEMENT THE  
CARTER ADMINISTRATION. WE ALSO APPRECIATE THAT  
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SECRETARY VANCE AND HIS ASSOCIATES WILL FIND THESE  
MEETINGS OF EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND MINISTERS,  
WHICH TAKE PLACE ONLY A FEW DAYS AFTER INAUGURATION,  
SOMEWHAT EARLY TO LAY OUT THE NEW ADMINISTRATIONS'S  
FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS. NONETHELESS, WE CONTINUE TO

HOPE US-EC CONSULTATION DURING THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY  
WILL BEGIN IN LATE JANUARY WITH A BANG, OR AT LEAST  
A POP (REFTELS).  
THIS LEADS US TO WONDER IF WE MIGHT CONVEY MORE  
ANALYSIS THAN POLICY FOR THESE INITIAL MEETINGS. IF  
WE CANNOT PRODUCE US POLICY CONCLUSIONS TOWARD CYPRUS,  
MIDDLE EAST OR SOUTHERN AFRICA FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE  
NINE, BECAUSE OF THE CHANGE IN ADMINISTRATIONS, COULD  
WE PASS THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY OUR ANALYSIS OF THE  
PRESENT SITUATION IN THOSE AREAS, THE US VIEW OF THE  
NEGOTIATING ENVIRONMENTS IN WHICH CARTER FOREIGN  
POLICY WILL PROCEED IN 1977. WE REALIZE THIS IS AN  
AMBITIOUS SUGGESTION. WASHINGTON MAY WELL HAVE BETTER  
IDEAS ON HOW WE CAN BEST LAUNCH US-EC POLITICAL  
CONSULTATION DURING BRITAIN'S SIX MONTHS IN THE CHAIR.  
PERHAPS THERE ARE SUBJECTS NOT ON THE NINE'S AGENDA  
SUCH AS PORTUGAL AND SPAIN WHICH COULD PRODUCE MEAT  
FOR TABLE. IN ANY EVENT, HMG HAS ASKED US TO PROVIDE  
US COMMENTS TO THE COMMUNITY NO LATER THAN FOUR DAYS  
BEFORE THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEET. BY OUR  
CALENDAR, THAT MAKES THE DEADLINE ABOUT JANUARY 20.

ARMSTRONG

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## Message Attributes

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